

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 DRC-01 AECE-00 /165 W
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P R 230806Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1320

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

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FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: NEGATIVE UK POSITION ON ALLIED

TACTICS PAPER

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: IN DISCUSSION BETWEEN US REP
AND UK REP EVENING OF JANUARY 22 CONCERNING FONOFF
PROPOSALS TO AMEND TEXT OF ALLIED TACTICS PAPER,
UK REP OFFERED TO PASS ON ARGUMENTS OF US REP TO
ADOPT PAPER WITH MINOR CHANGES. HE SAID HE
EXPECTED REPLY FROM FONOFF BY THURSDAY, JANUARY 24,
WHICH WOULD EITHER ACCEPT PAPER IN SLIGHTLY REVISED
FORM OR SUGGEST ISSUE BE TAKEN TO THE COUNCIL.
END SUMMARY.

2. FOLLOWING AD HOC GROUP MEETING ON MORNING OF
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JANUARY 22 IN WHICH UK REP (ROSE) PRESENTED IN-
STRUCTIONS FROM UK FONOFF SUGGESTING THAT REFERENCE
TO FIXED PERIOD OF TIME BE DELETED FROM ALLIED
TACTICS PAPER AND THAT OTHER CHANGES BE MADE IN

PAPER (SEE SEPTTEL FOR DETAILS), US REP HAD FURTHER DISCUSSION WITH UK REP.

3. UK REP REPORTED THAT WITH REGARD TO CHANGE SUGGESTED BY UK FONOFF IN PARA 6, TO COMPRESS LAST SENTENCE TO READ, "IF THE RUSSIANS PERSIST IN ASKING WHETHER OTHER FORCES WOULD INCLUDE BUNDESWEHR, ALLIED REPRESENTATIVES COULD POINT OUT THAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY IS AMONG THE ALLIED DIRECT PARTICIPANTS," FRG REP BEHREND'S HAD REPORTED FRG FONOFF OPPOSED THE CHANGE AS SINGLING OUT FRG MORE THAN PREVIOUS FORMULA. UK REP SAID HE WOULD REPORT THIS TO UK FONOFF AND WAS OF OPINION THAT LATTER WOULD BE GUIDED BY GERMAN VIEWS IN THIS MATTER WHICH CONCERNED FRG SO DIRECTLY.

4. DISCUSSION TH*N TURNED TO UK PROPOSAL TO REPLACE PRESENT LANGUAGE OF PARA 7 OF PAPER WITH STATEMENT THAT "IN RESPONSE TO SOVIET REQUEST FOR ALLIED ASSURANCES ON INCLUSION ON AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES, THE ALLIES COULD SAY THAT THEIR MAIN INTEREST WAS IN DISCUSSING THE FIRST PHASE AGREEMENT IN WHICH REDUCTIONS WOULD BE LIMITED TO US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES. THEY WOULD CONTINUE TO REJECT THE INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES." UK REP INDICATED IT WAS FONOFF CONCERN THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT READ PRESENT LANGUAGE AS HINT THAT ALLIED WERE PREPARED TO CHANGE THEIR POSITION ON INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION US REP SUGGESTED THAT NEW SECOND SENTENCE BE ADDED TO PARAGRAPH THAT "THEY MAINTAIN THEIR KNOWN VIEWS ON INCLUSION OF AIR AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS," AND THAT PRESENT LANGUAGE OF PARA BE RETAINED. HE BELIEVED THIS SENTENCE WOULD MEET UK FONOFF CONCERNS. UK REP SAID HE WOULD RECOMMEND THIS SENTENCE AND ALSO A SLIGHT CHANGE IN FOLLOWING SENTENCE TO READ, "HOWEVER, BY AGREEING NOW TO DISCUSS US AND SOVIET GROUND FORCES AS PROPOSED BY THE ALLIES, THE SOVIETS WOULD
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NOT BE FOREGOING THEIR RIGHT IN THE JUNE 28 COMMUNIQUE TO RAISE SUBJECTS OF INTEREST TO THEM."

5. TURNING TO PROPOSED UK CHANGES IN PARAGRAPH 5, US REP SAID UK FONOFF WAS APPARENTLY UNDER SOME MISAPPREHENSION AS TO THE SCOPE OF THE LANGUAGE PROPOSED IN PARAGRAPH 5, PARTICULARLY REFERENCE TO "FIXED PERIOD OF TIME." HE POINTED OUT THAT ALLIES WOULD NOT BE ACTUALLY UNDERTAKING ANY COMMITMENT ON THIS TOPIC BUT MERELY EXPRESSING THEIR WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS THE POSSIBILITY OF A COMMITMENT AT A LATER POINT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. NO ACTUAL COMMITMENT WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN EVEN IN PRINCIPLE UNLESS

SUBSTANTIAL AGREEMENT ON A SATISFACTORY PHASE I WERE REACHED. THUS, IF THE APPROACH UNDER CONSIDERATION DID NOT SUCCEED OR IF THE SOVIETS RENEGED AFTER A TIME, THE WEST WOULD NOT HAVE UNDERTAKEN ANY COMMITMENT. US REP SAID THAT ALLIED APPROACH WHOSE SUCCESS NOW UNCERTAIN WOULD AMOUNT TO LITTLE WITHOUT "FIXED PERIOD" FORMULATION AND WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY FAIL TO ACHIEVE ITS OBJECTIVE. US REP POINTED OUT THAT, IF ALLIES DID NOT UNDERTAKE MOVE OF TYPE INDICATED, IT WOULD NOT APPEAR POSSIBLE TO GET THE SOVIETS TO DEFER THEIR PRESENT INSISTENCE ON EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION FROM THE OUTSET. DEBATE OVER THIS TOPIC MIGHT INTENSIFY, UNTIL THE ISSUE OF EUROPEAN PARTICIPATION CAME TO DOMINATE THE DISCUSSION. THIS WOULD NOT BE IN INTEREST OF UK. US REP POINTED OUT THAT SPEAKING MORE GENERALLY, AD HOC GROUP HAD TO SHOW ITS CAPACITY TO MAKE DECISIONS AND TO MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS. UNLESS SOME DELIBERATE AND ORDERLY MOVEMENT IN THE NEGOTIATIONS WERE POSSIBLE, THIS WOULD IN TIME CREATE PROBLEMS.

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USIA-15 NEA-11 TRSE-00 SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11

OMB-01 AECE-00 DRC-01 /165 W
----- 058027

P R 230806Z JAN 74

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1321

SECDEF/WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO USMISSION NATO

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6. UK REP SAID THAT READING BETWEEN LINES OF HIS INSTRUCTION HE BELIEVED FONOFF MIGHT HAVE BEEN HAPPIER IF FIXED PERIOD PROPOSAL HAD BEEN AIMED AT GETTING SOVIETS TO SPEAK ON COMMON CEILING FIRST INSTEAD OF US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS. UK FONOFF WANTED TO SEE ALL LEVERAGE AT DISPOSAL OF ALLIES USED IN SUPPORT OF COMMON CEILING OB-

JECTIVE AND NOT USE IT UP FOR OTHER PURPOSES. US REP POINTED OUT THAT PROPOSED TACTIC DID NOT USE UP LEVERAGE ARISING FROM INTERESTS OF SOVIETS IN COVERAGE OF EUROPEAN FORCES, BUT WOULD UTILIZE IT TO MINIMAL DEGREE. ALLIES WOULD DEVELOP COMMON CEILING THEME IN DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS ONCE THEY HAD STARTED MOVING THEM ON TO ALLIED PROGRAM. US REP POINTED OUT THAT, IN ORDER TO MEET FONOFF CONCERNS, HE HAD EARLIER IN DAY PROPOSED ADDITION TO SENTENCE THREE OF PAGE FIVE OF PHRASE, "WHICH WOULD INCLUDE AGREEMENT TO THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT" FOLLOWING WORD "AGREEMENT", TO MAKE NATURE OF AGREEMENT EVEN CLEARER.

7. US REP SAID WASHINGTON AGENCIES STRONGLY SUPPORTED COMMON CEILING. BUT IN HIS VIEW, IT WAS TACTICALLY INADVISABLE TO BEGIN
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WITH COMMON CEILING FIRST BECAUSE COMMON CEILING OPENER WOULD ENABLE SOVIETS TO CONTINUE TO PUSH FOR INCLUSION OF NATIONAL, AIR AND NUCLEAR FORCES. SECOND, TO ASK THE SOVIETS TO DISCUSS COMMON CEILING FROM THE OUTSET WOULD BE TO REQUIRE CONSIDERABLY GREATER MOVE ON THEIR PART THAN TO ADDRESS US-SOVIET FORCES WHICH WAS AFTER ALL PORTION OF THEIR OWN PROGRAM. UK REP SAID HE AGREED WITH THIS ANALYSIS.

8. UK REP SAID HE WOULD BRING VIEWS OF US REP TO ATTENTION OF UK FONOFF IN MESSAGE THE SAME EVENING. HE EXPECTED REPLY BY JANUARY 24 OR JANUARY 25 AT LATEST. HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER UK FONOFF WOULD FIND THE CLARIFICATIONS WHICH HAD BEEN ADVANCED SUFFICIENT TO BRING IT TO ACCEPT TACTICS PAPER IN THE FORM NOW BEING DISCUSSED OR WHETHER FONOFF WOULD INSIST ON REFERRING ISSUE TO COUNCIL ON GROUNDS THAT CONCEPT OF FIXED PERIOD OF TIME WENT BEYOND PREVIOUS AGREED ALLIED POSITION PAPER. US REP SAID HE STRONGLY HOPED RE-SORT TO COUNCIL COULD BE AVOIDED. UK REP AGREED. HUMES

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 27 JUL 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: MBFR, MEETING DELEGATIONS, BALANCED FORCE REDUCTIONS, TROOP REDUCTIONS, NUCLEAR WEAPONS, NUCLEAR FORCES, NEGOTIATIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 23 JAN 1974
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: garlanwa
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1974VIENNA00566
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: VIENNA
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1974/newtext/t19740174/abbrzant.tel
Line Count: 199
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION ACDA
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: garlanwa
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 11 APR 2002
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: WITHDRAWN <23-Jul-2001 by maustmc, RDFRD>; WITHDRAWN <23-Jul-2001 by maustmc, RDFRD>; RELEASED <11 APR 2002 by garlanwa>; APPROVED <11 APR 2002 by garlanwa>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: NEGATIVE UK POSITION ON ALLIED TACTICS PAPER
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE
SECDEF INFO NATO
BONN
LONDON
USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

Type: TE

Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005